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Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 EA-07 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 OMB-01 AID-05 IO-10 EB-07 SAJ-01 STR-04

ACDA-05 FAA-00 DOTE-00 /109 W
---------- 037640
R 290709Z SEP 75
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2219
INFO AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMCONSUL KARACHI
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMCONSUL LAHORE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN
CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 9028

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, PK, IN
SUBJECT: INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

REF: A. NEW DELHI 12184
B. ISLAMABAD 8698

SUMMARY: MFA OFFICIALS BLAME THE INDIANS FOR THE
PRESENT IMPASSE IN EFFORTS TOWARD FURTHER NORMALIZATION
OF INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS. THEY SAY THEY ARE BOTH
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PERPLEXED AND DISAPPOINTED BY WHAT THEY ALLEGE ARE

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INTRANSIGENT POSITIONS AND BASELESS ACCUSATIONS ON
INDIA'S PART, AND CLAIM THEY HAD EXPECTED BETTER OF THE
GOI. BUT THEY DO NOT SEEM TO CONSIDER THE STALEMATE
A FORERUNNER OF ANY SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN THEIR
RELATIONS WITH INDIA.

PAK ATTITUDES DO NOT SUGGEST AMY SERIOUS EARLY MOVE ON
THEIR PART TO HELP BREAK THE IMPASSE. ALTHOUGH THE
GOP REMAINS COMMITTED TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS,
AT LEAST IN THE NARROW SENSE OF THAT TERM, IT PROBABLY
DOES NOT FIND THE PRESENT SITUATION PARTICULARLY UN-
COMFORTABLE. THE PROGNOSIS AS SEEN FROM ISLAMABAD
SEEMS TO BE FOR LITTLE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE OVER THE NEXT

FEW MONTHS, EXCEPT IN BILATERAL TRADE PROSPECTS. END SUMMARY.

1. IN DISCUSSING WITH US THE PRESENT STALEMATE IN
EFFORTS TOWARD FURTHER NORMALIZATION OF INDO-PAK
RELATIONS, MFA OFFICALS ASSERT THAT IT IS THE INDIANS
WHO ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE IMPASSE. THEY POINT SPECI-
FICALLY AT WHAT THEY ALLEGE IS A STIFFENING OF THE GOI
POSITION ON THE DISPUTE OVER THE DESIGN OF THE SALAL
DAM IN INDIAN KASHMIR AMD A RENEGING BY NEW DELHI ON
AN EARLIER INDIAN UNDERTAKING TO ADOPT A MORE FORTH-
COMING STANCE IN THE DEADLOCKED CIVIL AIR NEGOTIATIONS
BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. THEY MAINTAIN THAT THE
GOI HAS RAISED THE TENSION LEVEL BY MAKING B
HELESS
ALLEGATIONS ABOUT PAK PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES. THEY DIS-
MISS AS UNJUSTIFIED INDIAN CHARGES THAT IT IS THE GOP
AND NOT THE GOI WHICH IS HOLD UP PROGRESS. (ON TRADE,
FOR EXAMPLE, THE PAKS SAY THAT THEY HAVE SIMPLY NOT
HAD SUFFICIENT TIME TO CONSIDER THE FINDINGS OF THEIR
SPECIALISTS WHO HAD TOURED INDIAN FACTORIES.) THEY
REASSERT THE GOP'S OWN COMMITMENT TO THE SIMLA PROCESS
BUT CONCLUDE THAT UNTIL THE INDIANS GIVE UP THEIR
PRESENT INFLEXIBLE APPROACH PROSPECTS FOR IMPROVED TIES
WILL REMAINS DIM.

2. THE PAKS SAY THEY ARE BOTH DISAPPOINTED AND PER-
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PLEXED BY THIS INDIAN ATTITUDE. THEY CLAIM THEY HAD
EXPECTED BETTER: THEIR OWN RESTRAINT FOLLOWING THE
ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE INDIAN EMERGENCY AND PRIME MINISTER
GANDHI'S POLITICAL INTEREST IN SCORING THROUGH IMPROVED
INDO-PAK RELATIONS AT LEAST A MINOR DIPLOMATIC SUCCESS
BOTH SHOULD IN THEIR VIEW HAVE PROMPTED A MORE HELPFUL
GOI APPROACH. THEY SPECULATE, INVITING US TO JOIN
THEM, ABOUT THE GOI'S MOTIVES IN "STIFFENING" ITS

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STANCE: UNCERTAINTIES INDUCED BY THE BANGLADESH COUP AND THE GOP'S EARLY RECOGNITION OF THE NEW DACCA GOVERNMENT, AND THE BATTLE OVER THE ASIAN UNSC SEAT ARE CITED AS POSSIBLE REASONS, THOUGH NOT ACCEPTED AS JUSTIFICATIONS.

3. ALTHOUGH THE PAKS SAY THEY ARE CONCERNED BY THIS SITUATION, THEY DO NOT IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS SPEAK OF IT AS A FORERUNNER OF ANY SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS. THEY DO NOT CONNECT IT WITH THEIR APPREHENSIONS ABOUT AN EVENTUAL INDIAN MILITARY ADVENTURE AGAINST PAKISTAN DESIGNED TO BOLSTER THE GANDHI GOVERNMENT, NOR DO THEY ANTICIPATE THAT ANY OF THE BASIC AGREEMENTS WORKED OUT OVER THE PAST YEAR UNDER THE SIMLA AGENDA WILL NOW COME UNSTUCK.

4. WHATEVER JUDGMENT ONE MAY REACH AS TO THE VAILIDITY OF THIS ONE-SIDED ASSESSMENT OF THE CURRENT STATE OF INDO-PAK RELATIONS -- THE GOI POSITION AS REPORTED BY EMBASSY DELHI APPEURS TO BE ALMOST A MIRROR IMAGE -- IT CERTAINLY DOES NOT SUGGEST ANY SERIOUS EARLY MOVE ON THE PART OF THE PAKS TO HELP BREAK THE IMPASSE. THE ONLY EXCEPTION APPEARS TO BE IN THE TRADE FIELD. HERE THE PAKS TELL US THAT A TEAM OF INDIAN SPECIALISTS WILL BE COMING TO PAKISTAN IN NOVEMBER AND THAT CONTRACTS ARE EXPECTED TO BE WORKED OUT AT THAT TIME. IT SEEMS LIKELY, HOWEVER, THAT PAK PURCHASES OF INDIAN PRODUCTS WILL BE LESS THAN THE INDIANS WILL CONSIDER THEIR DUE.

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USIA-06 OMB-01 AID-05 IO-10 EB-07 SAJ-01 STR-04

ACDA-05 FAA-00 DOTE-00 /109 W
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R 290709Z SEP 75

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

5. ALTHOUGH THE GOP REMAINS COMMITTED TO NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, AT LEAST IN THE NARROW SENSE OF THAT TERM, IT PROBABLY DOES NOT FIND THE PRESENT SITUATION PARTICULARLY UNCOMFORABLE. IT HAS ALREADY ACHIEVED MOST OF THOSE ELEMENTS IN THE SIMLA PACKAGE IT CONSIDERS ATTAINABLE AND ADVANTAGEOUS, AND IT HAS PROBABLY CALCULATED THAT THE POLITICAL COSTS INVOLVED IN FURTHER PROGRESS ARE NOT UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES WORTH THE LIMITED GAINS WHICH MIGHT BE ACHIEVED, PARTICULARLY SINCE IT HAS NO ASSURANCE FROM INDIA THAT
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THESE WOULD LEAD TO THE RESTORATION OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, SOMETHING THE PAKS SEEM VERY MUCH TO VALUE. CERTAINLY THE GOP FEELS UNDER NO DOMESTIC POLITICAL COMPUNCTIONS TO MOVE FORWARD. IF ANYTHING THE POLITCALLY SAFE COURSE IN A COUNTRY WHERE ANTI-INDIANSENTIMENT CAN BE SO READILY BROUGHT INTO PLAY IS TO SIT TIGHT. NOR ARE THERE ANY SUBSTANTIAL INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES ON THE GOP TO BOLSTER THE POLITICAL WILL IT NEEDS TO RISK UNPOPULAR MEASURES. WHILE IT HAS REPEATEDLY BEEN MADE AWARE OF USG SUPPORT FOR THE SIMLA PROCESS, THE GOP MAY WELL HAVE CONCLUDED THAT THE ORIGINS OF THE PRESENT IMPASSE ARE SUFFICIENTLY MURKY AS TO MAKE UNLIKELY ANY TOUGHENING OF AMERICAN POSITIONS, PROVIDED OF COURSE THAT THE PRESENT STYMIED STATE OF AFFAIRS DOES NOT LEAD TO A MARKED DETERIORATION IN INDO-PAK RELATIONS. AND OTHER COUNTRIES TO WHOM THE PAKS LOOK FOR SUPPORT ARE LESS LIKELY TO MAKE PROGRESS ALONG THE SIMLA ROUTE A SIGNIFICANT CRITERION IN THEIR RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN. THIS IS OF COURSE MOST CLEARLY

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SO IN THE CASE OF THE PRC.

6. THE PROGNOSIS THEREFORE SEEMS TO BE FOR LITTLE SUBSTANTIAL CHANGE OVER THE NEXT FEW MONTHS EXCEPT IN BILATERAL TRADE PROSPECTS. ALTHOUGH AZIZ AHMED IS TO CONSULT IN NEW YORK WITH Y. B. CHAVAN ON WAYS TO BREAK THE CIVIL AIR DEADLOCK, NO ONE AT MFA SEEMS TO SEE ANY BASIS ON WHICH ON WHICH ANY FORWARD PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. (IRONICALLY, THE BEST CHANCE FOR MOVE-MENT SEEMS NOW TO LIE INTHE PROSPECT OF IMPROVED PAKISTAN-BANGLADESH RELATIONS. IF THE GOP SEES ADVANTAGE IN A RESTORATION OF AIR SERVICE FOLLOWING THE NOW WIDELY EXPECTED ESTABLISHMENT OF PAK-BD DIPLO-MATIC TIES, THE CIVIL AIR OVERFLIGHT EQUATION WILL CHANGE DRAMATICALLY. IN THE NEW CIRCUMSTANCES, THE GOP COULD PROBABLY SELL BOTH ITSELF AND ITS PUBLIC ON THE IDEA OF MAJOR CONCESSIONS TO INDIA "FOR THE SAKE OF FRATERNAL TI H DACCA.") THE SALAL DAM ISSUE LOOKS LIKELY TO ELUDE BILATERAL EFFORTS AT RESOLUTION AND TO GO TO A NEUTRAL EXPERT FOR ARBITRATION. PROSPECTS SEEM DIM FOR THE WORKING UP OF NUCLEAR GUARANTEES OR FOR SUCH CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AS
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BORDER FORCE REDUCTIONS AND INSPECTIONS. THE LEVEL OF PROPAGANDA, ALWAYS DIFFICULT TO GAUGE, IS NOT LIKELY TO FALL SIGNIFICANTLY, PARTICULARLY WHILE THE CAMPAIGND GOES ON FOR THE UNSC SEAT. DISCUSSIONS ON KASHMIR, LET ALONG ANY GLIMMERING OF A FINAL SOLUTION TO THAT ISSUE, SEEM FAR OFF. IN SHORT, NOT A PROMISING PICTURE, BUT NOT ONE TO CAUSE SERIOUS CONCERN AT THIS TIME.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, DETENTE, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ShawDG
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975ISLAMA09028
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750337-0278
From: ISLAMABAD
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975096/aaaaaeyl.tel
Line Count: 259
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION NEA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 75 NEW DELHI 12184
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ShawDG
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17 JUN 2003 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <30 OCT 2003 by ShawDG>
Review Markings:

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, PK, IN
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006